THE New Republic

If Eisenhower Had Done More, And Faubus Less

Pages 3-4

How Will Negroes Vote?

By RICHARD M. SCAMMON

Communists as a Class . . . . . *Paul Willen*

A Howl of Protest . . . . . *Norman Podhoretz*

Art in Youngstown . . . . . *Frank Getlein*

The South May Rise Again . . . *Gerald Johnson*

THE RUBY YACHT OF PARAMOUNT

A Movie Review by Donald Malcolm and Janet Winn

SEPTEMBER 16, 1957

25 cents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire

The Abilene Complex

WE OFTEN WONDER how dangerous a man like Eisenhower is. He is modest, well-intentioned and God-fearing. He is also aloof, bored with his job and lazy. He would be an ideal constitutional monarch; makes a poor political leader. The story of the past Congressional session is the slow disintegration of his authority and prestige. But the real anxiety runs deeper.

America has two great problems today, one at home, one abroad. At home it is population. In the four-and-a-half years since Eisenhower became President the US population has risen 13 million. It is 171 million today, will be 250 million in 25 years. It is a fantastic problem requiring great leadership. Almost every physical and institutional structure in the country is already too small. Hospitals, roads, homes, schools, recreation facilities, cities are bursting at the seams. Guidance, direction, above all planning, are needed. Eisenhower dimly sees this, but he is a captive of fixed ideas. He has an Abilene, Kansas, complex, and he is not able or willing to offer effective leadership. His ineptness and indifference killed the school bill. Its failure will not be felt now, but two or three years hence when enrollment is still higher (it is now at an all-time, 43.1 million, peak) we won't have the schools we need. Yet in listing failures of Congress at his press conference last week Eisenhower inexplicably and astonishingly omitted any mention of this school bill—the issue on which he persistently harped all through his 1956 campaign.

Again, on the economic side, the job of fulfilling the material needs of this surging American population should keep the country employed and prosperous for generations, but it is doubtful if this can be done smoothly if the whole thing is left to free enterprise, to US Steel and General Motors. In fact, right at the moment business nervousness is visible—the stock market decline for the month of August was the sharpest in 17 years.

Contagious Optimism

BUT IT IS in the second great problem, foreign affairs, that the lulling, sedative effect of Eisenhower may be most baneful. The Eisenhower father-image makes all things seem safe. Optimism is his stock in trade and so contagious that when the President—with real concern—asks for more foreign-aid money the public replies, "Oh, everything is fine; you said so yourself! Let's economize and aim for that tax cut you always dangle ahead."

The most dangerous thing about the Eisenhower influence, we believe, is the theory that because he is a General this much-divided man will not let our defense decay. Consider the harsh realities. Russia has the H-bomb. Because or in spite of Dulles, Russia has a foothold in the Middle East. The disarmament conference has failed. Sober commentators accept the thesis that Russia is ahead of us in the missile contest. The most lethal arms race in history is under way. And what is the story in Washington? Is a calm but stern voice directing national attention to the global needs for which domestic sacrifices and belt-tightening are continually necessary, and to which other budget considerations are secondary? Hardly! America gets comforting sedatives instead, and Eisenhower delegates to his Bureau of the Budget the job of putting a ceiling on expenditures by the Defense Department. The Pentagon is reducing spending on guided missiles. The Administration wants a tax cut next year, and it is sensitive about peacetime federal expenditures although these really are only keeping pace with the expansion of the nation.

Can we trust Eisenhower to keep our defenses up? Under certain circumstances he is the most dangerous type of leader; a well-meaning, indolent man, getting information second-hand and conscious of his place as national hero.

Typical of the difficulties that arise is India. It ought to be possible for a President to explain to the country the crucial position which India holds for us in the cold war. For Asia, India symbolizes the democratic approach to the goal of industrialization, as contrasted to the totalitarian approach of China. By one means or another the backward nations are going to achieve industrialization—the brutal Soviet revolution has shown that it can be done. But for lack of foreign credit it is touch-and-go with India; there is some likelihood of political disaster.

India is now at a crisis. As long as she can maintain some headway, even a little, Communism has little chance. There is a perfectly valid reason for making India big dollar loans, and Eisenhower probably knows it. But he has never seemed able to project this conception to the public — the public which, ironically, idolizes him.

Fate Hangs on Detroit

COMING down from Boston last week this reporter and his family kept count of the number of Volkswagens on the road. In the 11-hour trip there were 82 of the little bugs; also three of the brand-new Edsels which attracted wide attention. The VW is neat, functional and economical; we understand there is a nine-month waiting list for the eagerly-desired imports. The Edsel is big, brash, almost insolently cumbersome and jukeboxy. (We have scanned the pages of this magazine and found no full-page advertisement so perhaps this reaction is biased. The first sight did bring this ejaculation simultaneously from one family—"No fins!"—but that is hardly enough to sell a car.) What makes the situation interesting is that financial writers say it is the response of American consumers to the 1958 models that will decide whether the business boom continues or a decline takes hold, some signs of which are already apparent. Fate hangs on Detroit. What we cannot understand is why manufacturers insist on making cars so conspicuously inconvenient and why motorists buy them.

T.R.B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Republic

A JOURNAL OF OPINION

SEPTEMBER 16, 1957

THE WEEK 3
Arkansas; Monopoly and Monotony; Jencks Revised; How To Save $5 Billion; Oil and Algeria; Communist & Communist
ARTICLES 9
Has Intervention in Guatemala Paid Off?
by David L. Graham
The Superficial Aspect
by Gerald W. Johnson
How Will Negroes Vote?
by Richard M. Scammon
BOOKS AND COMMENT 15
Reviews: The New Class; By Love Possessed; Aspects of Desegregation; Books on Science
MOVIES 19
PAPERBACK BOOKS 20
ART 21
TELEVISION 22

VOL. 137, NO. 13, ISSUE 2234

Correspondence

► ***Sex and the Color Line***

SIRS:

I KNEW *The New Republic* was an intellectual sheet, but I hardly expected Mr. Roth's review of *Island in the Sun* (NR, July 29) to be quite so much so. I haven't seen the film, and I'm quite willing to believe all the reports that say it's thoroughly confused. But after all when Mr. Roth looks for motives for attraction toward Dorothy Dandridge and Harry Belafonte, I wonder if Mr. Roth isn't a bit blind.

Says he of the man who meets, loves and runs off with Miss Dandridge, "the only explanation for his actions lies, perhaps, in his work—he is a novelist-on-the-sly." And when the character played by Joan Fontaine is attracted to Mr. Belafonte, Mr. Roth says "once again, as with Miss Dandridge, I must search for motives."

Didn't Mr. Roth's father tell him the facts of life long ago? Didn't he ever even hear of physical attraction (sex, I mean—shhh)? Two more physically beautiful creatures than Miss Dandridge

(*Continued on page 23*)

Arkansas

WITHIN hours after Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to prevent integration in the Little Rock Central High School, the *Arkansas Gazette* was on the streets with a front-page editorial explaining that Faubus had raised "the most serious Constitutional question since the Civil War": whether a governor may interpose the authority of a state between the Supreme Court and the people.

It took the President of the United States 48 hours to catch up with the *Gazette,* although Faubus had conveyed his intentions to the Department of Justice a week before. On the morning the troops surrounded the high school Mr. Eisenhower met the press. What did he think of the Arkansas situation? "There seems to have been a road block thrown in the way [of integration] and the next step will have to be by the lawyers and the jurists." He seemed puzzled when one reporter asked if the President planned to get in touch with the Governor personally. Then he took off for Newport and what he anticipated would be "the time of my life."

By Thursday it had become clear to almost everyone that this was no matter to be left to "lawyers and jurists" but a problem for the Chief Executive as part of his duty to "preserve and defend the Constitution." Then Mr. Eisenhower replied to a wild telegram from Faubus (demanding assurance that federal agents were not about to seize him), with a properly firm answer: "The only assurance I can give you is that the Federal Constitution will be upheld by me by every legal means at my command."

How much more those words might have meant had they been spoken as soon as Governor Faubus conveyed his intentions to the Justice Department, or at least before Faubus was frozen to the position of physically barring Central High to Negroes—and extremists in the Deep South began believing again that they could stop desegregation if they tried. (The *Montgomery Advertiser* editorialized last week: "It is possible that in many harassed and embittered parts of the South a great many citizens are going to demand to know why their own governors can't take charge like the Governor of Arkansas.")

From his first faint reaction to Faubus's challenge we can only conclude that the President does not understand what he must do for desegregation to occur at all.

Even the slight progress that has been made toward school integration since May, 1955, has followed a predictable pattern: there has been the most speed where there are the fewest Negroes, and vice versa. Fewer than one-fourth of the biracial school districts in the 17 Southern and Border states are complying with "the law of the land" today. And only 16 of the 740 districts which are complying lie outside the Border tier. Maryland, Missouri, Delaware, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moved ahead fast. The Deep South—Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina—moved not at all.

The hope for early progress was in the states between the two extremes—Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina. School boards in these in-between states have been feeling their way slowly, taking their cues from the Governors. The Governors naturally have been doing what they felt to be politically wise, after listening carefully at the grass roots, estimating the strength of the Negro vote and the violence of extreme segregationist feeling, and reading Court rulings on the constitutionality of laws with which the South has tried to circumvent the Supreme Court.

The Governors of Kentucky and Tennessee have brought their authority down on the side of adjusting to the inevitable. At Sturgis and at Clinton they used the state militias to enforce desegregation—not prevent it.

In North Carolina, Gov. Luther Hodges, said to aspire to second place on the 1960 Democratic ticket, encouraged Charlotte, Greensboro and Winston-Salem—where Negroes vote in significant numbers—to become the first three cities of the Southeast to put into effect *voluntary* desegregation plans.

Arkansas was expected to follow the same general pattern by taking the first step in Little Rock this year in a lengthy 10-year plan for desegregation and so establishing a solid phalanx of Border states, living within the law, for the Deep South to observe, contemplate—and eventually to imitate.

BUT Governor Faubus's political scent pointed him in a different direction. A native of the Arkansas hill country where Negroes are scarce, Faubus had been more interested in welfare issues than in defending segregation in his first campaign for governor. Labor supported him and Northern liberals lauded him. In his second term, however, close observers of the legislature report that in return for the support of the planter legislators from the Delta on raises in teachers' salaries and health and welfare services, Faubus agreed to support their segregation bills—and to evade the Supreme Court edict on the schools so long as it was legally possible to do so. Faubus is about to run for a third term, which only one man in the history of Arkansas has ever achieved. Faubus badly needed a popular issue; apparently he believes that he has found it in defiance of the Supreme Court.

The federal government has now joined in a contempt proceeding against Faubus. It is proper for it to be an active party to the suit, but federal legal process against the governor of a state should be a painful last resort. First, it is taking quite a chance. Governor Faubus might continue defiance and remind his constituents of President Jackson's reputed dictum: "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." Neither Roland Davies nor Earl Warren command, of course, the ultimate means of enforcement, any more than did John Marshall. It is the part of wisdom for the courts never to expose that fact to notoriety. Secondly, the juidicial process is time-consuming. Thirdly, there can be honest differences of opinion on the legal issue involved, and an ultimate decision upholding the Governor's exercise of power is conceivable.

For Faubus's power to be upheld would be disastrous to long-range prospects for integration in the South. It is likely in any event that if Governor Faubus meets with success—even if that success amounts only to delay—it will in the foreseeable future be politically impossible for a Southerner and perhaps Border Governor not to do what Faubus did.

The issue raised for federal authority by the action of Governor Faubus is a political not a legal problem and should not be left to "lawyers and jurists." For the President possesses precisely what the courts do not; namely, the ultimate power to enforce the national will. But this is not to suggest that he should use force or even rattle his saber. The President can marshal public opinion. He can persuade and he can shame, both publicly and privately. The President can cease giving the impression that he is at best tolerant of the Supreme Court's original segregation decision. He can cease mouthing in public—as he did at his last press conference—such a profoundly unfortunate phrase as "mongrelization of the race," which is no less unfortunate when you add a qualifying "as they say," in the same breath.

The President—and only the President, not Herbert Brownell and not Sherman Adams—can place the moral authority and prestige of his office and person behind the lawful orders of the courts. He can show up mobs for what they are, and unmask Governors who act in concert with them. Words well spoken by the head of our government can appeal to the South's essential patriotism and respect for law and order. Words have rallied nations in wars. They can dislodge the National Guard of Arkansas and teach Governor Faubus that: *On peut tout faire avec les bayonnettes, sauve s'y asseyer!*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244 NINETEENTH ST. N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

GILBERT A. HARRISON, *Editor and Publisher*

MICHAEL STRAIGHT, *Editor-at-Large*

HELEN FULLER, *Managing Editor*

Selig S. Harrison, *Associate Editor*

Robert Evett, *Book and Music Editor*

Staff Contributors: Donald Malcolm, Gerald W. Johnson, B. H. Haggin, Frank Getlein

F. R. Ruskin, *Assistant to the Publisher*

Published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) and copyrighted, 1957 in the USA by The New Republic, Inc., and distributed to newsstands by the Eastern News Company, N. Y. 14, N. Y. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-cass matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 25c; Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students $5.00. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Monopoly and Monotony

THE TV industry is getting as good as Hollywood at scratching its own back in public. Listen to CBS and NBC and learn how lucky you are to have these enterprising networks busily providing programs to amuse and inform you, and just *wait* 'til you see what the fall season will bring!

We know what it will bring: a mish-mash of mediocrity, with an Ed Murrow and a Playhouse 90 thrown in to keep viewers with IQ's of more than 100 from starving to death.

What's the matter with television? Is mediocrity built into the present commercial broadcasting system? Is the scarcity of quality shows explicable by the fact that CBS and NBC have cornered 83 percent of the total network revenue and are getting more powerful all the time? Is it the old demon, monopoly?

"Bigness" may not account for all that is wrong with TV, but we do agree with the recent findings of two Congressional committees that concentration of power in the television industry is something to be concerned about. A House Antitrust Committee report and a Senate Commerce Committee staff study have both shown how "option time" and "must-buy" provisions in network contracts with affiliated stations and advertisers tend to restrict competition. It works this way: From their affiliated stations, the networks exact priority claim on the best hours of the broadcast day—10 a.m. to 1 p.m., 3:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m., and 7:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. From the advertisers, the networks (having made certain of a nationwide hookup) exact mandatory purchase of a specified amount of nationwide coverage—whether or not the advertiser needs that extensive coverage.

As a result, the network is insulated from new competition and gains a competitive advantage over both independent producers of programs and independent local TV stations. (Only 38 out of 455 commercial TV stations are not affiliated with a network.) National advertisers who might wish to direct their message to selective, smaller market areas through independent outlets are unable to do so. Also, smaller advertisers (including local merchants) are barred from the best broadcast hours of the day. And independent, non-network production efforts—such as that presently being established on a national level by ex-NBC president Sylvester "Pat" Weaver—may be kept off the airwaves.

Now what's wrong with this network dominance of television? In our judgment, it isn't the Orwellian threat (which seems to disturb the House Committee) that a few people in NBC and CBS will be powerful enough to undermine our democratic society. It is that the major *national* advertisers, who are out for a constantly greater volume of sales, will largely determine what programs are to be seen in all parts of the country during all the best broadcast hours. For example, even where the networks know that 26 percent of the viewing public would accept a program that doesn't insult the intelligence, such a program is not likely to be shown if another program is available which can command a 31 percent audience. The 26 percent might like Leonard Bernstein, but if the 31 percent prefer Oral Roberts, we'll *all* take faith healing. Committed as they are to each other by the "option time" and "must-buy" agreements, the networks and the big advertisers must opt for the largest possible return for each dollar invested in broadcast time—and that means the largest audience. What most people want is what all people get—and quality is lost in the process.

If, however, local stations were freer of network control during prime viewing hours, local advertisers might then break into TV more often, and national advertisers could buy time to reach local markets. Independent producers would have some place to go when networks veto a show. And some local TV stations and advertisers would, if the law of averages holds up, direct their appeal to special—even minority—segments of the viewing audience. More program sources would assure more variety. And would more variety assure more programs pleasing to the educated eye and ear? We think it might.

Jencks Revised

MORE THAN the usual quota of misinformation was evident in the public and Congressional debate about the Supreme Court's Jencks decision—a debate ended, at least for the moment, by the hurried enactment just before adjournment of revisory legislation.

From the start there was an over-anxious reaction to a case that Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School said "simply blueprints procedures used in every criminal court." The Court held that when a prosecution witness in a criminal case has made statements to the government before trial, the defense is entitled to see any of those statements which relate to his trial testimony. It is an age-old device to test a witness's credibility by checking his testimony against statements made, as Mr. Justice Brennan put it, "before time dulls treacherous memory."

It was this ruling that Mr. Justice Clark, dissenting, saw as affording criminals "a Roman holiday for rummaging through . . . vital national secrets." This irresponsibly exaggerated dissent doubtless gave rise, as Sen. Sam J. Ervin said, to "much of the misconception about the decision."

A semi-official campaign of hysteria also did its bit toward misunderstanding. Kenneth Keating, the Justice Department's man in the House, issued frequent statements in this tone: "The chilling fact is that agents of foreign powers may well walk out of jail scot-free."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Most remarkable was the series of inspired stories in the *New York Herald Tribune* saying that the government might have to drop its espionage case against Rudolf Ivanovich Abel unless the Jencks decision was revised. The prosecutors in charge of the case laughed at this story when they got over their annoyed surprise.

But some responsibility for misconception of the decision must also be attributed to Mr. Justice Brennan's opinion for the majority. It was cloudy when it needed urgently to be clear, earthbound when it should have been eloquent in expounding our traditions of criminal procedure. Eloquence and clarity were needed all the more because the case dealt with an agency jealous of its powers and well equipped to defend them, the FBI.

The legislation that emerged from the Jencks debate is not in our judgment the catastrophe for civil liberties that some liberals have claimed. Four provisions primarily are in controversy.

First, the statute limits the statements that may be produced to those written and signed by witnesses and to "substantially verbatim" transcripts of oral statements. This would seem to exclude the typical FBI agent's notes on a conversation, but lawyers tell us that the defense could bring such notes into evidence by calling to the witness stand the agent who took them.

Second, the trial judge is required by the legislation to go through a witness's statement and eliminate material not relating to his testimony before giving the statement to the defense. The Supreme Court would have had the prosecutor himself comb out the irrelevancies before production. There are misgivings about such a role for a judge, but it does not seem unworkable.

Third, if the government refuses to produce a witness's statement, the new act directs that his testimony be stricken from the record or a mistrial declared. The Supreme Court had said that the government would have to pay for such recalcitrance the price of having the indictment dismissed. The Court's view is the proper one. But we do not believe the government will deliberately call witnesses whose prior statements it plans to withhold, so the damage here should be limited.

Finally, the statute flatly bars any disclosure of statements made by witnesses *before* trial. Such pre-trial discovery was not at issue in the Jencks case. In our judgment the worst feature of the legislation is this intrusion by Congress into a delicate area of criminal procedure that could better be handled by the courts on a case-by-case basis.

NEXT WEEK

The Watchers, Waiters and Writers of Wall Street

An entertaining essay by Reed Whittemore on the mystique of the stock market.

How To Save $5 Billion

IN OUR present defense force of 2.8 million men and women, there are 1.5 million new recruits. About 76 percent of these recruits will quit at the end of their required service; among the technicians, the quitting rate is even higher. In each new group that is brought into the military services for a two- or three-year training period, some 600,000 men are schooled as pilots, navigators, mechanics, radar experts, radiation detectors or specialists in related skills. But more than 500,000 of them leave the service as soon as their training is over, and the government must then begin again with another batch of raw recruits. It takes half a million officers and men simply to train the replacements.

It was this problem of turnover that the Cordiner Committee set out to solve. Unfortunately, the conclusions it reached have not been seriously discussed either by the Congress or by the press—though its report was released last May.

Industrialist Ralph J. Cordiner, president of the General Electric Corporation, had spent a year with a committee of 12 civilians and defense officers studying why the armed services fail to produce enough technicians competent to handle the new weapons. It was apparent that aside from its damaging effects on our military security, the high rate of personnel turnover was and remains extremely costly. In one year—1955—more than 4,000 pilots left the service. Their training had cost the taxpayers $480 million. About 20 percent of West Point and Annapolis graduates are resigning within five years of graduation, while before World War II, the resignation rate was only 5 percent.

And by 1963 and after, when the bulk of service officers retained from World War II will be eligible for retirement, the falling away of experienced hands will be even greater. Their replacements should be in service now; yet 84,000 lieutenants left the service in the most recent two-year period—out of a total officer corps of 320,000.

As an experiment, the Navy sent two carriers on a cruise of the Mediterranean, one staffed entirely with an experienced crew, the other with today's average proportion of raw recruits. The first carrier had no accidents. The second had nine mishaps, loss of life, and complete loss of aircraft at a cost of more than $5 million. Flying accidents which cost our services $2 million a day can be traced largely to the turnover in technicians.

After interviewing thousands of men, including those who stayed and those who left, the Cordiner Committee concluded that a promotion system based on merit should be established—one similar to that found in the diplomatic service. There must also be, it said, increased pay for technically trained men who elect to make the military a career. Cordiner has as his model the successful history of General Electric in recruiting young tech-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nicians from colleges, giving them advanced training at company expense and by means of incentives keeping them on the payroll or retired list until they die.

The Bureau of the Budget has said it could not accept the Cordiner proposals because they are "inflationary." How sound is that objection? It is true that the changes in pay and the housing and fringe benefits proposed in the Cordiner report would cost an additional half billion dollars during the first year the plan is in operation. But by the third year, the reduced manpower turnover would permit a net budget saving, and by 1962 this saving should rise to $5 billion a year.

Fortunately, although the Senate Armed Services Committee sat on the Cordiner Report for 90 days and then gave it only a one-day hearing during the closing hours of the 85th Congress, Sen. Stuart Symington (D, Mo.) has introduced legislation to give effect to its recommendations. Thus it is assured further discussion by the Congress in January.

Oil and Algeria

A SPEED-UP in French oil drilling in the Sahara was to be expected as a result of crisis in Syria, for Syria sits astride the principal oil pipelines in the Middle East. But the rise to power of pro-Soviet influences in the Syrian government cannot explain the feverish commotion today in the lobby of the St. George Hotel, social center of Algiers and intelligence crossroad of Algeria.

Braided French parachute officers are bivouacked at one end of the hotel lobby, evidence of the war between the French and the Algerian resistance movement. But sprinkled among the French officers are scores of Dutch, German and British oil drilling crews, and a surprising number of Americans as well. There are three seismograph teams from Tulsa and Houston, oil drilling equipment representatives from companies in Seattle, Los Angeles, Quincy and a half dozen other American cities; and a platoon of scouts for the major American oil producers, sizing up the market for oil drilling concessions which the French Government will offer to the American companies for the very first time in October.

The collaboration between Big Oil and the French is ironic, since less than a year ago the French Government was accusing American oil companies of financing the Algerian rebels, in the hope of gaining control of Sahara oil. All of the American salesmen in Algiers now represent Algerian subsidiaries of American companies, an indication that they anticipate a boom. And the French Government is trying to entice American producers with offers of a mere 11 percent income tax, a 27.5 percent depletion allowance (same as in the United States) and free drilling concessions for five years.

This turn-about in French thinking has taken place in the 18 months that have passed since the first successful oil strike by the French—in February, 1956. The French Government now reasons that the more oil found quickly in Algeria, the more the French people are likely to support the unpopular Algerian war. Likewise, the more France can involve its European allies in the effort, the more they are expected to support the French pacification effort. That is why France graciously offered to include its overseas territories in the recently negotiated European common market, which would enable any European member to obtain Algerian oil on the same terms as France itself.

American drilling rigs are needed to speed up exploration, and since the French lack dollars, the quickest way to put their hands on them is to invite American participation. Exploration and equipment companies are the only Americans so far involved (one equipment representative wrote $3 million in new business during the first half of 1957, the *Wall Street Journal* reported). But the field will be opened up to the major American oil producers in October, at about the moment that France will be seeking American Government support in the UN debate over Algeria.

Exact size of the Sahara deposits has not yet been established. Only 50 successful holes have been drilled, in three widely separated areas, all within 250 miles of the Mediterranean coast. One scout for an American producer said he estimated this was "not another Persian Gulf" but big enough to justify the $50 million committed to wild-catting this year. The French Government has officially announced that it expects a yield of 36 million tons of oil—enough for the entire needs of France, within a decade.

The chief obstacle to immediate exploitation of the oil is still the Algerian rebellion. Any pipeline laid from the wells in the desert to the coast would run through territory dominated by the rebels, and although two of the known fields are close to the boundaries of neighboring Libya and Tunisia, both of those governments are sympathetic with the rebels. Nevertheless, the French Government is proceeding with a 6-inch pipeline to the nearest railhead and hopes to begin exporting oil in 1958 with the use of 500 rail tank cars.

If the rebellion should go hopelessly against the French, and a settlement is brought about by international pressure, the French have a salvage plan in their inside pocket: they will declare the sparsely populated desert a separate country. New French maps published in 1957 show Algeria as a 200-mile strip between the Atlas Mountains and the Mediterranean; the rest of what has been called Algeria, including the oilfields, is labelled "French Sahara." Is this the logical "French mind" at work? It is at least as logical as applying the name "Nationalist China" to a small island in the Pacific whose native population did not even speak Chinese.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communist & Communist

As IF the State Department were not baffled enough by having to distinguish between Communist governments (help Warsaw, talk with Moscow and quarantine Peking), the Indian Communist Party has supplied Secretary Dulles with a new cold war conundrum: what should American policy be when *part* of a friendly country goes Communist? The Communists' success in the southwest Indian state of Kerala last spring was the first victory for a Communist Party in a free election in any sizable area. This was no municipality in Italy, but a sprawling coastal region on the Arabian Sea with a population of 13.6 million and rich natural resources, including one of the greatest concentrations of radioactive sands in the world. The Communist cabinet now in power has given Nehru's governing Congress Party many troubled moments, for New Delhi must now contend with newly-respectable Communist movements in other regions of India, and must also prepare for the possibility of a constitutional showdown with the Kerala Communists—who so far are on their best behavior.

But the Kerala development has been no less worrisome to the official representatives of the US. At the time the Communists won the state, for example, the International Cooperation Administration was assisting agricultural extension programs in south India, and a Point Four expert, Levi Horlacher, was conducting his region-wide activities from a home base in Kerala. Another program conducted by the University of Tennessee on a contract with ICA had brought home science expert Earl Bacon to Kerala, and like Horlacher, his job still has a year to run. The new Communist Chief Minister of Kerala, E.M.S. Nambudripad, expansively welcomed US aid to his state, and that was embarrassing: for the US to have brought more technicians to Kerala (treating a Communist state as a special target) would have been as controversial as to have withdrawn Horlacher and Bacon (discrimination). All that ICA could do and wisely did was to continue precisely according to previous plans.

Similarly, the US Information Agency has been running a library in the Kerala capital of Trivandrum for three years. The library has not been shut down. Also, the USIA had shown its "Family of Man" exhibit of Edward Steichen's photographs to more than one million Indians in other states—with Kerala scheduled next (and last) on its itinerary—when the Communists took over the state. The exhibit opened as planned last week in Trivandrum in its ultra-modern, collapsible and transportable dome designed by Buckminster Fuller. There was only one change. In many areas the Chief Minister is invited to do the inaugurating. In this instance, he was not.

CYPRUS CALLING

Who will settle the Cyprus crisis?
If Britain can't, who can?
The Greeks reject and the Turks suspect
Each liberal British plan.
Draft Constitutions they may compile,
Partition projects may be on file,
But not one gleam of hope is seen
For Aphrodite's Isle.

Condominium compromises
Great Britain vainly seeks;
The trouble's not with the Cypriot
But only with Turks and Greeks.
Athens and Ankara do not smile
On plans for a common domicile
Where peace and love could reign serene
In Aphrodite's Isle.

Britain constructive schemes devises
When chances of peace they probe,
But Makarios won't come across,
Being utterly Anglophobe.
Arrogant Turks the Greeks revile,
Greek presumption stirs Turkish bile,
And Britain helplessly stands between,
On Aphrodite's Isle.

Mediation UN advises—
Some master plan that works,
To end for good the furious feud
Between the Greeks and Turks;
But since both scent Imperial guile
In smooth diplomacy, British-style,
America only can intervene
On Aphrodite's Isle.

Deep division immobilizes
All action by the States,
For a clash goes on in Washington
As anxious Britain waits.
They split on Aphrodite's Isle—
No hope of mediation, while
The State Department is PhilHellene
And the Pentagon, Turcophile.

SAGITTARIUS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Has Intervention in Guatemala Paid Off?

THE assassination in July of President Castillo Armas, the second Administration-sponsored Central American ruler so to die, has left Guatemala in an uneasy state. Castillo's legal successor has assumed the Presidency, but the Constitution prescribes an election within four months, and the Guatemalan Congress has set October 20 as the date. By giving the opposition scant time to organize—no political opposition was permitted under Castillo—this early date favors the Government (Liberation) candidate, Manuel Ortiz Passarelli, former chief justice of the supreme court.

Now that the two principal figures in the 1954 Liberation —US Ambassador John E. Peurifoy and Colonel Castillo, the man he guided to power—are dead, we may say publicly what has been said privately: that the Liberation was made in Washington. For without US consent Castillo could never have staged his Liberation army in Honduras or assembled his considerable store of arms, including American planes, which he was allowed to base in Nicaragua. Without US pressure, the Guatemalan army would never have leaned on its rifles and let the Liberation swagger into power. Most of the shooting occurred *after* Castillo took over, when some 250 Arbencistas were executed in "spontaneous uprisings." Later Castillo went through the motions of being "elected" President (by a farcical YES-or-NO plebiscite in the Nazi-Communist tradition, with less than 10 percent of the population even voting). But he was our man and Guatemala had to prosper. He made a triumphal tour of the US and called on Mr. Eisenhower. He received some $70 million in US loans, grants and technical assistance—plus a World Bank loan of $18.2 million, and military assistance in the name of hemisphere defense. Secretary Dulles spoke of that "Glorious Victory."

Everything about the '54 Liberation may not have been admirable, it was said, but still Colonel Castillo was driving out the Communists. There were few who asked, how, if the Communists were so strong in Guatemala, Castillo was able to take over so easily? And did the Communists have such a grip on the country that it was necessary for Castillo to purge the unions, abolish all political parties, disband Congress, and scrap the Constitution?

Such were the Liberation's acts. And within about 18 months *Time* magazine was saying:

> Far from the hoped-for new era of Democracy, Guatemala is slipping fast toward a stubborn dictatorship that provides grievances for opposition from all quarters, and tries to crush all opponents under the slogan of anti-Communism.

From Secretary Dulles' point of view, however, the Liberation has paid off—temporarily. The present situation is described by one State Department officer as "satisfactory." Certainly, the Liberation brought political stability—by suppressing four newspapers, by exiling hundreds of Guatemalans, imprisoning hundreds more, and shooting others. And with this police state stability and the influx of nearly $90 million in outside economic aid, business in general and US business in particular has prospered. Wages are down but profits and the cost of living are up. Various big American companies are confidently investing in Guatemala. For after the switch from the leftist Arbenz government to friendly Castillo, the threat of expropriation and high taxation which hung over such US corporations as United Fruit, IRCA, and the Electric Company of Guatemala was removed.

Precisely what the Liberation accomplished was summarized —somewhat indiscreetly, it would seem—in a State Department publication No. 6465, April, 1957:

(1) "The conclusion of an agreement with a United Fruit Company subsidiary providing for the return of property expropriated by the Arbenz government" (some 234,000 acres); (2) "the repeal of laws affecting remittances and taxation of earnings from foreign capital"; (3) "the signing of an Investment Guarantee Agreement with the United States"; and (4) "the promulgation of a new and more favorable petroleum law"—more favorable to the big American oil companies, since some 27 of them have rushed into Guatemala and snapped up exploration concessions covering almost the entire country.

BUT can it be maintained by an independent observer that intervention has paid off in good will toward the US, in prestige, or in confusion to Communism? To a man, Guatemalans, *and* Latin Americans, remember the Liberation as a violent, American-engineered overthrow of a legal government; and today they see American businessmen and advisors sticking out all over. This is all right with and for a minority, for those who have profited directly. But the majority see only a foreign "occupation," as they call it, and ignore or forget the good we have done. The official Guatemalan brochure issued in commemoration of three years of Liberation achievements did not even mention US economic aid.

When Assistant Secretary of State Roy R. Rubottom visited Guatemala for the recent Liberation anniversary—(how undiplomatic can our diplomacy get?)—Guatemala's most-read journalist likened him to a Spanish Viceroy visiting his colonies and invited him, in effect, to go home. And on July 4th Marroquin Rojas, the editor of *La Hora* (Guatemala City) and a man noted for his sensitivity to national sentiment, went further:

> There are none more enslaved than the people of the United States. . . . Not content with their own organized anarchy, so mechanical and deadly, the North Americans are now attempting to foist this unwanted anarchy on all those countries which though disease ridden and often poor and troubled, have been and still are more happy and free in spirit than those poor gringos, who fancy themselves the most fortunate beings on earth.

DAVID L. GRAHAM

Mexico City

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Superficial Aspect

The South May Rise Again

WITH ALL the chatter about it, little attention has been paid to one probable effect of the civil rights bill that may prove to be its supreme achievement. This is its restoration to Southern whites of the right to vote for the man of their choice.

Everyone has been so obsessed with defense of the Negro's voting rights that we have lost sight completely of the enfranchisement of the whites that this legislation will effect. Yet everyone acquainted with the region knows that the Southern white man's right of suffrage has been just about equivalent to the right of a citizen of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic; to be sure, both cast ballots at stated times, but both voted for THE party, or else—. In one case "else" meant jail, in the other public scorn and contumely, but if there is a choice between them a good many men would prefer jail.

The bond that held the Southerners to the Democratic Party was their belief that the party was the only reliable defense against Negro domination through use of the ballot. That belief is now blasted. Far from defending the South against the voting Negro, Truman, a Democratic President, urged a civil rights bill nine years ago, and Northern Democratic leaders did at least as much as Eisenhower, the Republican President, to put it across. In this respect the Democratic Party is now about as effective a defense as mosquito netting would be against a Kaffir impi.

So Southern whites at last are free to vote for the party in which they really believe. Which one this is may reasonably be inferred from the character of the region. People who have never been there may cling to the delusion that the South is a land of *dolce far niente*, where old Colonel Ravenel languidly sips his julep under a magnolia tree, and no doubt there are isolated spots that still meet this description, but not many. In the greater part of the region the rat-race is just as desperate as it is in New York—sometimes worse, for the reason that the South got off to a slow start and is making furious efforts to catch up.

Leaders in the rat-race are by nature Hamiltonians and turn toward the Republican Party as naturally as the sparks fly upward. But in the South their natural bent has been distorted by the presence of the Negro in large numbers. They could not countenance Negro domination, partly for social reasons, but also because, being Hamiltonians, they adopt a ruthless attitude toward any minority they deem subnormal in production per man-hour. True, they are seldom as ruthless in the South as they are in Detroit and Levittown, Pennsylvania, but they are rough enough.

Loving the Republican Party and not being able to vote for it has set up an inner conflict in these Southerners that furnishes a plausible explanation of conduct that is otherwise inexplicable. For instance, it may account for the extreme testiness of Senator Byrd, of Virginia, since the anti-segregation decisions of the Supreme Court. In his basic political philosophy Byrd is obviously a better Republican than Bricker, of Ohio, but circumstances have denied him the privilege of association with kindred spirits and have compelled him to keep company with such hideous monsters as F. D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman.

After many painful years, however, the weird operation of simultaneous election of a President and rejection of his party threw everything into such confusion that Byrd found himself in comfortable circumstances at last. If he is an anomaly, so are the rest of them, since 1953. Rayburn and Johnson, constantly hauling the President aboard after his own party has compelled him to walk the plank are certainly anomalies; and no less is Eisenhower, forced by politics to denounce the party that threw him a lifeline, and praise the one that heaved him overboard. In such company Byrd was pleasantly inconspicuous.

BUT now that satisfactory arrangement is utterly disrupted. As far as holding down the Negro is concerned, neither national party is of any further use to the Southerners, and they might as well vote for the one they really like best. Many are sure to do so, if not immediately, then within a short time. Indeed, there is a possibility of the election of a Republican Governor of Virginia next year. It is most annoying to party bosses.

As to the rank and file, however, the change will certainly be salutary. Now that the white Southerner is free to vote as he thinks, he will find that the abjuration of hypocrisy contributes remarkably to the sense of well-being. Even the Jeffersonians below the Potomac will profit. The emancipation of the Republican slaves held in Democratic bondage may enable the party to become Jeffersonian again, and stronger in the end even if it loses an election or two. Who knows? The South might even climb back to the height on which it stood when the Virginia Dynasty was teaching the art of self-government to all mankind.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How Will Negroes Vote?

WHEN SPEAKER SAM RAYBURN said privately that bi-partisan agreement on the civil rights bill was the most dramatic occurrence in his memory since Woodrow Wilson came to Congress and asked for a declaration of war, he was inferentially saying that it happened because the leadership of both parties had been convinced of the political necessity of demonstrating support for equal rights. And this in turn was testimony to the growing influence of the Negro voter.

WE ASKED a leading authority on American elections to examine for our readers changes that have been taking place in Negro voting habits, and whether these changes mean that the Republicans have reason to hope, and the Democrats reason to fear. Mr. Scammon is the author of *America Votes* and is Director of Elections Research of the Governmental Affairs Institute.

by RICHARD M. SCAMMON

TWO WEEKS AGO every county in Wisconsin gave Democrat William Proxmire a higher share of its vote than in 1954 in his previous "off-year" fight with the same opponent: he was carried to the US Senate in a landslide." But in one area Proxmire's strength declined. In the Negro precincts of Milwaukee's second and sixth wards his vote fell off.

As the Democratic candidate for governor in 1954 against incumbent Republican Walter Kohler, Proxmire had polled 82.9 percent in these Negro precincts; this August, against the same man, his vote was 81.5 percent. Only a small drop—but significant when one considers that Proxmire's support among all *other* voters increased—10 percent statewide, seven percent in Milwaukee. Even though Negro voters in recent years have preferred the Democrats by more than four to one, this kind of political fallout in Negro precincts is causing major recalculations of party strength all over America.

Migration from the South since World War II has sent Negro population in key Northern industrial states soaring. (850,000 Negroes now live in New York; 450,000 in Philadelphia; 400,000 in Detroit; 275,000 in Los Angeles.)

The Republican potential appeal to Negro voters increased with the school desegregation decision written by Eisenhower-appointed Chief Justice Warren. It continued to grow with reports of hardening Southern attitudes on race relations and with Vice President Nixon's campaign to identify himself and the GOP sympathetically with Negro groups in the North. Passage of the "right-to-vote" law in this Congress was primarily an effort by both parties to influence Negro thinking, for Northerners on both sides of the political aisle recognize that the Negro big city vote could bring about a fundamental political change.

In states where the two-party system is in healthy condition, the shift of even a single group of supporters is often vital to a candidate.

Consider four important Democratic victories in recent years: In 1954 Averell Harriman was elected Governor of New York by 11,000 votes; in the same year Abraham Ribicoff won Connecticut's Governorship by 3,000. In 1956 Sen. Joseph Clark (D.) beat incumbent James Duff (R.) in Pennsylvania by 18,000 and Sen. John Carroll (D.) won Colorado by a tiny 2,800 margin. Because Negro voters have been so solidly Democratic in recent years, these figures highlight the hope (of Republicans) and the fears (of Democrats) underlying civil rights legislation and the fight for the Negro vote. And these hopes and fears for state contests become even more marked in terms of 1960 and the contest for the Presidency, in which our Electoral College System gives a few key states inordinate importance.

A solid block of eight Northern and Central states stretching from New York to Missouri has 191 of the 531 Electoral College votes—well over one-third. Add California and this block rises to 223, with only 266 necessary to elect the next President. In every one of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these states the Negro vote has increased, and is increasing. From every available evidence, it will continue to increase. It is now 6 to 8 percent in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. The percentage drops a little in Indiana and California, rises slightly in Missouri.

Six or eight or ten percent of the registration is not a huge share; indeed, it is not even a very large one. But in this case it is vital because of its identification with the Democratic Party and the success of Democratic candidates, though this identification is a recent political phenomenon. In 1932 when the country went Democratic with a shout, Chicago's Negro wards voted nearly 4 to 1 for Hoover. But the Negro voter turned quickly towards FDR and the "New Deal." In machine-controlled cities new Negro Democratic machines quickly came into being, and these organizations accounted for some of the shift. But the major change was due to the economic plight of the Negro.

For despite recent increases in the Negro middle class, the great mass of the Negro vote comes from the bottom of the economic ladder. It was to these "bottom of the ladder" voters that the Democrats seemed to offer an umbrella for rainy days, and the Negro responded with political support. The Negro worker-voter shifted to the Democrats later than the white, but he shifted further and stayed longer. In 1952 the Negro precincts of America's great cities were among the strongest for Adlai Stevenson, and Democratic margins of 5 and 6 and even 10 to 20 to one were common in Negro areas North and South in the first Eisenhower-Stevenson election.

WHAT has happened from 1952 to 1957, from this demonstration of Negro support for the Democratic Party and its Presidential candidate to the Proxmire election in Wisconsin? In brief, a whittling away of Negro support for Democrats and some build-up of Republican possibilities.

Specifically, as between Eisenhower in 1952 and Eisenhower in 1956, the President gained in the 16th New York (Harlem) Congressional District, where his vote rose from 17 percent to 34 percent. He gained in the 1st Illinois (South Side Chicago) Congressional District, rising from 25 percent to 36 percent. In Boston, if the city's 22 wards be ranged in the order of their change from 1952 to 1956, the Negro 9th ward showed the greatest gain for Eisenhower.

In Ohio, Cincinnati's Negro wards showed a gain of nearly 10 percentage points for Eisenhower and Cleveland's nearly 15. In Los Angeles County Stevenson actually gained slightly, but the 62nd Assembly District showed a drop of over 5 percentage points in his share of the vote. In Detroit the Negro support for Stevenson was overwhelming, but wards 3, 5 and 7 did drop off from 90.5 percent for Stevenson to 85.7 percent.

In several cities the loss was small. In Philadelphia the Negro wards dropped off less than 3 percentage points in their support for Stevenson, and in St. Louis and Kansas City the Eisenhower gain was only a small one. Alternatively, the Democratic drop in Southern cities was much greater. Though some of Stevenson's 1952 precincts stayed Democratic the general Southern pattern was one of heavy Eisenhower gains. In Atlanta, Memphis, Richmond, Norfolk, and throughout the South this swing to the Republicans was impressive. Ten Negro precincts in Norfolk, for example, voted 18 percent for Eisenhower in 1952, 78 percent for him in 1956.

In the Border states the trend has seemed to depend upon the local evaluation of the position of the Democratic Party on race questions. In Missouri, where Democratic Senators Symington and Hennings, ex-President Truman and Representative Richard Bolling have been strong civil rights advocates, the loss of Negro voters to the Republicans has evidently not been great. Alternatively, in Baltimore, where many of the Negro voters felt the Democrats had a "white supremacy" leadership, losses by Stevenson were the highest in any non-Southern city. As an example, in Baltimore the nearly all-Negro 17th Ward voted 71.9 percent for Stevenson in 1952, 42.6 percent for him in 1956.

Naturally this trend of the past five years cannot be explained by Negro votes alone: the 1956 results showed a *general* swing in urban areas away from the Democrats. In the 14 metropolitan areas of more than one million population, Stevenson gained in only three—fractionally in Los Angeles and San Francisco, substantially in Washington, D. C. Part of the Stevenson loss among Negroes was undoubtedly a generalized loss of urban working class votes and stemmed from other than race questions.

Moreover, this trend must be weighed in terms of urban non-voting as much as by percentage shifts. Almost every big city in America cast fewer votes in 1956 than in 1952! The New York vote dropped off 260,000; Chicago's fell 180,000; Baltimore's 31,000; Minneapolis' 32,000. Even population-expanding Los Angeles fell off in its Presidential vote in 1956.

Most of the Eisenhower gain in percentage points from 1952 to 1956 represents heavy losses in Democratic votes rather than any gains in Republican totals. To illustrate, in Chicago's 2nd Ward, where the Eisenhower percentage rose from 23 to 32, the actual Republican vote only went up from 8,400 to 8,600, while the Stevenson vote dropped from 27,700 to 18,300. This does not mean the Democrats simply didn't vote while the Republicans did. It does mean that the shift to Eisenhower was combined with a sharp drop in the Democratic vote to produce the Republican percentage gains.

But the trends of Negro voting cannot be measured

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in terms of Presidential voting alone. Though there is a great deal of straight-ticket voting in America, and rather more in Negro than in white precincts, a candidate like Mennen Williams in Michigan actually gained votes while Stevenson was losing them. In Detroit's 3rd, 5th, and 7th wards, Stevenson dropped nearly 5 percentage points between 1952 and 1956, but Williams' percentage rose slightly. Nonetheless, in Presidential years there has been a strong tendency for lesser offices to follow along with the Presidential results. Thus it was that Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.) lost strength in 1956 in his 16th New York Congressional District despite his endorsement of the Republican Presidential candidate and the gains of the President in Harlem.

THIS catalogue of Democratic losses should not, however, overshadow the still preedominantly Democratic voting pattern of the Negro voter, at least in the North. There were 14 Northern Congressional districts with 20 percent or more Negro population in 1950. Thirteen of these 14 are held by Democrats; the single Republican comes from the only non-urban district in the group—the semi-Southern Eastern Shore of Maryland. On the Presidential side, although Eisenhower made substantial gains in the South and more modest increases in the North, analysis of the election figures and of the work of such poll operators as Dr. Gallup and the Michigan Survey Research Center, has led to one national estimate of a total Negro vote of perhaps 1.3 million for Eisenhower and 2.2 million for Stevenson in 1956, with the Northern states still voting 65 to 70 percent Democratic. Two to one is not three to one, but it is still a heavy Democratic margin for Republican's to overcome.

Since November, 1956, there has been little to measure. In the April free-for-all Texas special Senatorial election, party lines were blurred, Ralph Yarborough winning on a minority poll with the conservative vote split between Democrat Martin Dies and Republican Thad Hutcheson. And as mentioned earlier, in Wisconsin last month Proxmire won easily, but lost slightly in Milwaukee's Negro precincts, seeming thus to confirm the 1952-1956 Presidential pattern.

First tests of the effects of this past summer of civil rights activity may be seen this fall in the voting for Governor in New Jersey and Virginia. In New Jersey the campaign of Republican Malcolm Forbes has already alleged a lack of activity by Governor Meyner on behalf of Negro interests. In Virginia, Republican Ted Dalton will be contesting with Democrat J. Lindsay Almond with the school segregation problem a major issue.

But in neither state does it seem that the debate in Congress—or even the civil rights bill itself—will be a major issue. In New Jersey the Negro response to Forbes' campaign is likely to be based on a more general evaluation of candidates and parties. There is little evidence that these debates have served to erase much Negro loyalty to the party of FDR or to blur the economic situation that has led so many Negroes to vote Democratic. More important appears to be the general image created by personalities and parties, perhaps a pro-Republican feeling on seeing a picture of Nixon with Martin Luther King, or an anti-Democratic one on reading of new outbreaks of violence in the South. In Virginia, for example, the solid support Dalton will get from the Negro voter will not be due to any arguments in Washington, but to continuous and massive reaffirmation of segregation as a positive policy of the Democratic state organization.

But the nationwide tests will have to wait on 1958. In that year all 435 members of the House come up for re-election, 33 Governors' terms expire, and 32 Senatorial places are to be filled. Many of the 1958 contests will be in states in which the Negro is becoming a vital key to political success or failure. What may the observed shifts of these past few years portend?

For Congress, evidently not very much. House seats now held by Negro Democrats would have to shift overwhelmingly to favor a Negro Republican. New York's Powell and Detroit's Diggs won their seats in 1956 with 70 percent of the vote, Chicago's Dawson with 64. In other districts in which the Negro vote is important there might be changes, but the concentration of Negro residents in Northern urban "black belts" tends to reduce the effect of the Negro vote in Congressional elections.

A heavy swing to Republican Congressional candidates might shift as many as a dozen or 15 seats, but this sort of change-over did not take place from 1954 to 1956 and there is no present evidence to suggest that it will occur in 1958. However, substantial Democratic gains also seem unlikely. It is sometimes argued that the Negro migration northward is a long-range gain for the Democrats, no matter what the percentage figures may temporarily show. If the Negro migrant from the South votes 2 to 1 Democratic, this adds to the Democratic majority, even though the Democrats would prefer the older 3 to 1 proportions. However, since the Negro from the South usually moves into Northern city areas that are high-count Democratic already, all these new voters can do in elections is to swell the existing majority.

IT is on the statewide contest that the Negro vote will have its great influence. Here each vote counts as much as any other vote and even a minor Negro shift from Democratic to Republican might imperil normal Democratic margins of victory. Specifically, on the State House level, the re-election of Democratic Governors Harriman, Ribicoff, and Williams, and the holding of Pennsylvania might all be jeopardized by a Negro move towards the GOP in 1958.

But to list the Governors involved is to sum up the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dilemma of the Negro voter and of the Republicans. Harriman, Ribicoff and Williams are leaders in the civil rights "team." No one could speak of them as "white supremacy" leaders. Without a national campaign to lead straight ticket voters into the Republican camp, the task of convincing Negro voters to support Republicans against these men will not be impossible, but it will not be easy.

On the Senate side the same is true. Senator Symington is the only Democrat up for re-election in 1958 in a state in which a Negro shift might cause an incumbent Democrat any difficulty. But the Symington record on civil rights has been so pure (from the Negro viewpoint) that large-scale defections to the Republican Senatorial candidate in Missouri would seem unlikely.

WHILE the Democrats may feel they don't have much to lose in these 1958 statewide contests, they may have equally little to be happy about. Any Negro swing toward the GOP in California will make harder the task of defeating Governor Goodwin Knight, or of winning the Knowland seat in the Senate. Even a small shift of Negro voters in Pennsylvania could hurt the Democratic chances for winning Republican Senator Martin's seat; any loss of Democratic strength amongst Negro voters would certainly enhance the re-election chances of Senators Beall (in Maryland), Bricker (in Ohio), and Ives (New York).

In the South, despite the passage by the 85th Congress of the "right-to-vote" law, it is unlikely there will be any massive rise in Negro voting by November, 1958—or, more important, by the 1958 primaries. An increase, certainly, perhaps even a substantial one, but not an increase large enough to change any of the basic patterns of Southern politics. Moreover, the problem of proof in cases involving alleged discrimination against Negro voting rights is a difficult one indeed. There are many questions of literacy, interpretation of the Constitution, and the like which may be used legally to bar many Negroes from registering and voting. Local custom and accommodation will have a great deal to do with the speed with which Negroes actually manage to vote, much more than the letter of the new "right-to-vote" legislation. The meaningful effect of the new law will be to speed up that accommodation, not enfranchise every adult Negro in the South.

While Southern Republicans may expect benefits from increased Negro support, party leaders looking for local successes may be very careful about enthusiastic Negro endorsements of their candidacies. Every one of the five Deep South Republican members of Congress signed the Southern manifesto; none has shown any desire to follow a "hard" line on civil rights.

Any national effort to obtain Northern Negro votes by identifying the GOP with a tough line on race questions will certainly make as many problems for Southern Republicans as a similar Democratic program would for Southern Democrats, and probably more. The trend of Negro voting, for at least the next few years, is more likely to be along the lines of ameliorating local situations and conditions than fighting it out on broad questions of doctrine. Such voting will probably be most effective in Democratic primaries, though there is nothing to prevent the Southern Negro from following the example of the Eisenhower Democrats, voting in Democratic primaries in the spring and summer, and for the Republicans in the fall.

In many respects the campaigns of 1958 will be less important in themselves than in setting the stage for 1960. Given the fact of Negro migration northwards and the growing influence of the Negro voter in key Northern industrial states, the effect of a shift of Democratically-inclined Negro voters to the GOP is most likely to be felt then. The basic advantage to the Republicans in 1960 lies, of course, in the built-in problem the Democrats have in any Presidential year: State-wide contests can be fought on the local party doctrine—white supremacy in Mississippi, all out for civil rights in Michigan. But in the fight for the White House, a single candidate must be put forward to "moderate" these competing state viewpoints. The Republicans have less difficulty on this question: internal problems they certainly have—Wisconsin was a sample—but on racial matters their problems are minimal compared with those of the Democrats.

IT is significant that Vice President Nixon, the current front runner for the 1960 Republican nomination, played a strong and vigorous role in early Congressional maneuvering on the civil rights bill. These efforts, plus his trip to Africa and his associations with the Reverend Martin Luther King, have given Nixon an almost unanimously favorable Negro press. If Nixon can maintain this highly favorable Negro feeling about himself, and if the Democrats nominate a true "moderate" to maintain party unity, the results could be far more decisive than the relatively small shifts in Northern Negro voting patterns registered in 1956. The effect on state and Congressional candidates, in turn, would depend on the capacity of the Republicans to hold Negro voters drawn to the GOP by the appeal of Nixon *versus* a middle-of-the-road Democrat.

With a Northern Negro community still voting two to one for Stevenson in 1956, Nixon and the Republicans will have a big target at which to aim. But they don't have to get all the way back to the heavy Republican majorities of the 1920's. Even a 50-50 break in the up-to-now heavily Democratic Negro vote might well push key doubtful states into the Republican column. The Democrats might then be denied the White House until some new major adjustment of American political forces shifted the balance their way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & COMMENT

The Communists as a Class

by Paul Willen

THE extraordinary metamorphosis of Milovan Djilas—from passionate leader of Communism to its arch-critic—is certainly a vivid testimony to the treacherously uncertain era in which we live. Other men have traversed this ground in recent years; but none have done so from such heights of authority; nor have they reconstructed themselves, after their passage, with the force and consistency which makes Djilas' book, *The New Class,* such an exceptional political event.

The New Class, An Analysis of the Communist System, by Milovan Djilas (Praeger; $3.95).

This is indeed a strange volume for an ex-Communist. It is not a personal confession, nor a political exposé, nor the bitter recriminations of a man betrayed by a youthful hope; nor is it really the anti-Communist manifesto which its publishers have hopefully labeled it. Instead, it is an earnest, methodical effort to grasp the historical essence of the Communist system—written with a cool passion that is characteristically his. The sweep of Djilas' many broad judgments against modern Communism indicate the presence of an underlying bitterness; and this is implied also by the very abruptness and thoroughness of his political transformation. But the earnestness of the analysis, the seriousness of his efforts at sociological consistency, are undeniable.

In this respect Djilas has not really changed; for he is employing the same passionate style and method with which, a decade ago, he unleashed his all-too-memorable broadsides against capitalism. The same feverish elan; the same terrible seriousness; the same overstatement and oversimplification; the same historic sweep; the same intense optimism regarding the future; and above all, the same incisiveness of style and analysis.

These were the qualities which made Djilas an outstanding and popular figure in Tito's postwar regime—qualities so well suited to a period of drastic upheaval, but so badly suited to the stifling bureaucratic routine of "constructing socialism" from which Djilas recoiled in 1953. Djilas' own explanation for Trotsky's immense failure may well apply to his own situation: "Trotsky's fireworks lit up the distant heavens; but he could not rekindle fires in weary men."

Similarly, Djilas' personal rebellion in 1953 inspired widespread admiration, but it did not pave the way for even the most limited emulation—at least, not in Yugoslavia itself. In this book Djilas makes several sporadic efforts to rekindle fires of his own; and the memories of distant revolutionary comradeship produce some marvelously lyric passages. But these dim memories are all but lost in the more somber years of conquest and calculation that follow the early heroism; and though Djilas may cherish these memories he seems now to attach little importance to them.

INDEED, the heart of this book is a brilliant effort to prove that, at its core, Communism is only another chapter in the history of hostile social classes struggling over the fruits of human labor. The use of the term "class" is open to much dispute; but Djilas' inner meaning is clear. The success of the Communists is due not to their political convictions, but rather to their ability to create a new and dynamic social system in which they serve as masters.

A Communist is not defined by his political allegiance, but rather by his membership in a monolithic economic class which is in the process of industrializing a backward country. This class holds power by virtue of its control (and its *de facto* ownership) of the economic resources; and as Djilas crudely phrases it, "he who grabs power grabs privileges and indirectly grabs property." The growth of this new class was made possible, he says, by the failure of previous ruling classes to carry their weight in the modern world. Regarding the Russian Revolution, Djilas writes:

> Russia was no longer able to live in the modern world as an absoltue monarchy, and Russian capitalism was too weak and too dependent on the interests of foreign powers to make it possible to have an industrial revolution. This revolution could be implemented by a new class, or a change in the social order.

This new class, capable of industrializing Russia, grew out of Bolshevism, which had come to power using the proletariat as the engine of destruction. The class as such was formed during the process of industrialization; and it was during this period that the *class* nature of Communism superceded in importance its *party* nature.

THIS is the heart of Djilas' book. Communism is not an ideology, but a social system which employs certain disembodied tenets of Marxism in its ideology. The primary concern of the Communists is the traditional interest of any great historic class: the expansion, fortification, and protection of its position in society. In protecting these interests the Communists will display a ferocity equalled only by the ruthlessness with which many of them will pursue their own ambitions in the Communist apparatus of state.

For the sake of brevity I have perhaps "disembodied" Djilas' own complex and subtle argument; and I have said nothing about his interesting explanation for the expansion of political freedom that followed the 19th Century "bourgeois" revolutions in contrast to the contraction of it that occurred after the Communist revolutions of the 20th Century. Nor have I space here to discuss his perceptive distinction between bureaucracy in the East and West. I can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only urge you to take up the book yourself, particularly the first few chapters, where these points are made. The last portions of the book, which contain a number of more commonplace observations about Communism in action, are of less value, interest and originality. But the first few chapters make refreshing reading; and even when one sees the serious flaws in his strictly economic interpretation of human motivations, one cannot help being awed by the sheer breadth of his survey, and by the speed with which his agile mind has moved in the past few years.

His style is detached and impersonal, but this is partly compensated for by its sharpness and vigor. For example, he compares Lenin's "revolutionary Communism" with Stalin's "dogmatic Communism" and Khrushchev's "non-dogmatic Communism," and then concludes with superb concision:

> The fate of Yugoslav Communism was to unify these three phases in the single personality of Tito . . .

At first glance this remark may seem an oversimplification; but when one considers the complex of elements involved in his appraisal of Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev, his characterization of Tito contains much of the deep subtlety which the subject requires. Although Djilas has evidently lost his admiration for Tito's political achievements, he exposes us to none of the personal bitterness he may feel toward him.

AND YET, in spite of these nuances, Djilas' weakness for sweeping historical judgment frequently leads him astray. He says, for example, that "history has no record"—always a risky way to begin a sentence—"of any other system so successful in checking its opposition as the Communist dictatorship." The Hungarian uprising, the Polish upheaval, the constant intellectual ferment in Moscow itself, to say nothing of the capitulation of "socialist realism" in Yugoslavia to the main currents of Western culture, indicate the superficiality of this statement and this applies to many of his sharper indictments.

He frequently underestimates the flexibility of his opponents, and the relative fluidity of their organization, especially in minimizing the post-Stalin changes; and perhaps he overstates the economic rewards that have accrued to Communist officials, comparing their relatively modest personal wealth with the great personal fortunes of their "monarchist" predecessors. And in explaining the Soviet defeat of Hitler exclusively in terms of the instinctive Slavic reaction to Hitler's racism, and thereby neglecting the undeniable achievements of Stalin's military and industrial organization, he slides into that narrow vision which pictures the Kremlin's empire as constructed of straw and liable to be blown down with the first stiff wind from the West.

BUT these are flaws which don't necessarily destroy the validity of his thesis. On one important point he may already claim proof that he has been vindicated—in his assertion that Communism, as an intellectual force, has exhausted itself; and certainly this bankruptcy of new ideas explains, in large measure, why a person such as Djilas, who is so passionately attached to dynamic and moving things, has been so firmly alienated from Communism. But if Communism is ideologically bankrupt, the same may be said, in some limited measure, of Milovan Djilas himself. He too points to little that is new or startling in the way of a path to the future—except for the virtues of the world democratic community, for which there are probably better spokesmen, and more deserving ones, than he.

Concerning his own country Yugoslavia, whose Communist regime has avoided many of the excesses to which he has devoted much attention, Djilas makes even fewer concrete proposals. When he was still part of the state machinery—back in 1953—Djilas proposed a two-party system without offering the barest suggestion of a program for the proposed second party. Lacking this hard substance of concrete political possibility, his declaration in favor of rapid democratization always had a certain air of unreality—to which fact Tito's theorist Kardelj eagerly pointed in his counter-attack of January 1954. Indeed, Djilas specifically disavowed any interest in the formation of a new party or faction. And one can only assume from this that Djilas expects the end of Communism to come in a blinding moment of mass upheaval, not because of any program of change but because of accumulation of hatred.

This lack of concreteness may explain why Djilas has received so much sympathy from his own people, but so little serious support. These people know that something is amiss. Many realize that much will have to change in the future; but light that illuminates the distant heavens for one heroic instant does not show them what can be done today or tomorrow; and this is the question confronting East Europeans during the chaotic post-Stalin epoch.

There are many political and social struggles being fought today in Eastern Europe, in which brave men like Gomulka, and dedicated figures like Nagy, traitors like Kadar, and popular leaders such as Cardinal Wyszynski, have played important roles. While Djilas may be right in suggesting that, in the end, all these people must go, the electrifying changes which accompany their present struggles are of crucial importance in the lives of millions of people.

JUDGING from his behavior in the past few years, Djilas has no desire to participate directly in these battles until he can do so as a completely free man. While this act of self-denial may be inspiring, and is no doubt motivated by the highest of personal principles, someone must conduct the painful day-to-day struggle for change within the framework of contemporary Communist society. It is not for us, of course, to say that Djilas should take up this struggle: these are decisions which each man must make for himself.

And certainly, in every political movement, there is a place for men of pure passion such as Djilas—some of whom would have been called saints in another age. Indeed, it is possible that Djilas' martyrdom in the Mitrovica prison may, by its very purity of character, open up a future perspective even more compelling than the great convulsions in Warsaw and Budapest. As an intellectual Djilas seems to be encouraging bloody and suicidal mass upheaval; as a man he is offering an example of elemental human dignity in a world where every organizational commitment means seclusion from some of one's fellow men.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Critics and Cozzens

by Sarel Eimerl

As the score stands so far, *By Love Possessed* is to enjoy as unanimous and awestruck a chorus of praise as has been granted any American novel in recent years. Brendan Gill, in a flaming review which sets fire to the normally skeptical pages of the *New Yorker* book section, describes Mr. Cozzens' latest as "a masterpiece . . . an immense achievement . . . Tolstoyan in size and seriousness." Malcolm Cowley in the *New York Times Book Review* applauds its integrity,

> . . . a degree of responsibility that few younger writers ever try to acquire. Cozzens would no more deform a character to meet the demands of his plot than he would steal from his Delaware Valley neighbors.

John Fischer, pushing Mr. Cozzens for a Nobel Prize in *Harpers,* is struck by his astonishing accuracy,

> . . . these people . . . familiar to all of us . . . *are* society . . . the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God.

And the anonymous authorities of *Time,* after congratulating Mr. Cozzens on his recovery from an unfortunate youth in which he "was the boy intellectual who didn't believe in God, scorned healthy exercise, and subscribed to the *New Republic*," go on to state, with a conviction remarkable in an issue dated as early as September 2, that *By Love Possessed* will be "the best American novel of the year."

By Love Possessed, by James Gould Cozzens (Harcourt; $5).

The work of the publisher's copywriters has obviously been done for them. But how far is all this praise justified? How far is it true, for example, that *By Love Possessed* portrays the people around us as they really are? No one can deny that Mr. Cozzens has been generous with his characters. They include two nymphomaniacs; a sadist who forces his wife to watch him have intercourse with other women and then return the compliment with two men brought home for her from a nearby bar; a hero who cuckolds his best friend (a paralytic) even though he finds the best friend's wife unattractive; a teenager indicted for rape; a girl whose life is dominated by fear and hatred of sex, who finally kills herself; a drunken doctor; two deaths by drowning; an embezzler; and a bitch (dog) in heat. And all are members of one tightly knit group in one average small town.

Now it may be that Mr. Cozzens (and Mr. Fischer) are right and that a typical American community would prove, if analyzed, to consist predominantly of sadists, nymphomaniacs, embezzlers, and suicides. Every reader must make up his own mind about this, perhaps by checking over a list of the 30 people he knows best, and seeing how many qualify under Mr. Cozzens' rather exacting standards of normality. But it seems more likely that Mr. Cozzens has chosen to improve on the mundane. For this it is hard to blame him. Many novelists have introduced more realism into their books than reality warrants. Besides, Mr. Cozzens has written eleven novels and not had a big best seller in the lot. But integrity? The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about us people as we really are?

Similar reflections come to mind when we consider the very complicated plot. With great skill—particularly in his use of coincidences—Mr. Cozzens has arranged his story so that all the strands come together at the end to effect the destruction of his hero (whose name, wittily enough, is Arthur Winner). The arrangement is so skillful that it is impossible not to believe that Mr. Cozzens first planned his ending, and then contrived his story and his characters so that they would lead up to it. Dramatically, he has succeeded. But it is nonsense to claim that a writer who uses such methods is giving us a slice of Life as it Really Is.

Mr. Cozzens is noted for the breadth of his knowledge and his careful attention to details of research. He knows a great deal about law, medicine, gardening, campanology and so on; and he gives us more lectures on erudite subjects in the two days which elapse during the course of his book than the average person undergoes in a year. Is it this display of knowledge which influences Mr. Gill when he speaks of the book's Tolstoyan qualities? Or is it perhaps Mr. Cozzens' discussion of theology, racial discrimination, free will, determinism and other philosophical matters? Or is it rather his lengthy reflections on Life? That parents love children more than children love parents; that unattractive girls tend to be more generous with their favors than do beauties; that people come to feel unwanted as they grow older, etc.

Some of his admirers have spoken up on behalf of Mr. Cozzens' style. They are courageous and loyal men. For Mr. Cozzens obviously feels that a sentence without half a dozen qualifying clauses and a parenthesis or two—or three—is not worthy of the name.

Still, *By Love Possessed* is a serious book. If the characters are sensational and the plot contrived, at least they lead to an effective dramatic denouement. But when one reads in August that this masterpiece proves its author is the peer of Hemingway or O'Neill and a leading contender for the Nobel Prize, one is driven to wonder where the reviewers go for their vacations that puts them in such a kindly mood. We must all go there next year.

A brilliant chronicle of the 4,000-year Jewish heritage

Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People

Edited by LEO W. SCHWARZ

Here is the whole spiritual and intellectual adventure of the Jewish people from the Biblical Age to modern Israel and America. Six eminent historians have written an exciting narrative which provides a fresh awareness of this rich heritage of faith and freedom.

$5.00. RANDOM HOUSE
457 Madison Ave., N.Y. 22

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Segregation and Psychology

by Natalie Davis Spingarn

THE CONTENTION that psychosocial ills arise from racial segregation is no longer new. But in this 80-page report, published after two years of study by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (an interracial committee of 185 psychiatrists and social scientists from all parts of the country) it is professionally reaffirmed. "Wherever segregation occurs," says the report, "one group, in this instance the Negroes, always suffers from inferior social status. The damaging effects of this are reflected in unrealistic inferiority feelings, a sense of humiliation, and constriction of potentialities for self-development. This often results in a pattern of self hatred." Equally serious, though less obvious, for the segregating white group, "a feeling of superior personal worth may be gained merely from the existence of a down-graded group." This fosters "distortion of reality" and "impedes more mature facing and dealing with actual anxiety-arousing conflicts."

Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation (Report 37; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry; 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.; $1).

By no means are all people who believe in segregation maladjusted or otherwise "psychiatrically abnormal." Some have rational motivations, ranging from desire for economic and political power to sincere conviction. They *can,* if their attitudes are not too firmly rooted, be won over to accepting desegregation. In fact—and this statement has been more widely publicized than any other made in the report so far—at every level in most communities of the South there are probably "more psychologically flexible people" than people who resist desegregation for irrational or unscrupulous purposes.

The section dealing with the question of the role of authority in changing attitudes is in some ways the most fascinating. For it describes the dilemma of the Southern citizen—Negro or White—who is caught up in the present conflict between local and national authority. He must choose which to obey or defy, and the stand he takes is bound to get him in trouble with at least some of the important people in his life. When the commands of near and far authorities clash, many people "obey the near because it feels more compellingly real for them."

There is often a difference, the experts find between what people tell you in private, at a small party, say, and what they admit to publicly:

> Many of the citizens of the deep South, and many of the local officials, school superintendents and members of school boards who feel their hands are tied by local white power situations, welcome with a sense of relief whatever authority the government can bring to bear in the situation.

Most, however, dare not openly express this relief; we hear less from them than we do from the more vocal enemies of "outside intervention." This pamphlet is intended primarily as an aid to understanding on the part of teachers, school administrators and parent-teacher organizations who have primary responsibility for working out the pattern of desegregation. The Supreme Court decision, having settled the point of law, leaves unsettled the complex conflicts inherent in the human situation. From that point of view, this report has something to say to us all—North and South.

Science for the Layman

by Bruce Bliven

THIRTY years ago the trade of science writing was only beginning. Magazines printed hardly any scientific material at all, and newspapers confined themselves mainly to speculation about rocket trips to the moon (which is still a lively topic, and hardly any more sensible today than it was then). But 30 years have wrought a remarkable change. Today there are scores of skilled writers who spend their whole time reporting the facts of progress in science and technology in lay language for large audiences. Many of them have had advanced training in chemistry, physics or even in medicine, and what they write is in the main thoroughly reliable. There is a National Association of Science Writers with a long roster.

Science today is so enormously complex that top-level research workers can hardly keep up with their own specialties, and get hopelessly behind in their knowledge of other aspects; every science writer has repeatedly had the experience of interviewing some outstanding figure and finding him remarkably ignorant of important developments in other fields than his own.

This sudden and remarkable proliferation of reliable and well written science news has several causes. One of them is that big-circulation newspapers and magazines today are on the whole more prosperous than ever before, and can afford such luxuries as a full-time science reporter. Another is that journalists are better educated, in the formal sense, than in the past; a few decades ago the reporter who had been through college was a rarity, whereas today the opposite is true. Most important of all, however, is the increased public interest in science that came with the splitting

A TREASURED OIL PAINTING
OF THE ONE YOU LOVE

Now you can have a beautiful portrait in vibrant oil colors by one of our professional artists. This life-like 12 x 16 painting handsomely framed in limed oak, will become a cherished possession.

Here's all you do. Send us a snapshot (any size), with complete color description of eyes, hair, clothing and person's age. In a few short weeks you will receive your portrait. **$25.00**
Please send check or money order. Postage prepaid.

ED LURIE, Dept. NR
67 Warren St., Roxbury, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the atom and its fearsome consequences. The public today has been taught, quite rightly, to believe that our very existence may depend upon the competitive race with the Communist world for developments in the laboratories, and they watch the news with somewhat the feeling of a man on trial for his life as he sees the jury file back into the courtroom.

The World of Water, by J. Gordon Cook (Dial; $3). *Our Astonishing Atmosphere*, by J. Gordon Cook (Dial; $3). *The Fight for Food*, by J. Gordon Cook (Dial; $3). *The Story of Our Earth*, by Richard Carrington (Harper; $3). *Science and Human Life*, by J. A. V. Butler (Basic Books, $3.95). *Science Looks at Smoking*, by Eric Northrup (Coward-McCann; $3).

Although the quality of popular writing about science is so much better, many of the scientists themselves have not yet quite caught up with this fact. Numbers of them still feel that there is something improper about having their discoveries reported to a lay audience in readable English rather than the pompous style and technical jargon with which their own professional journals are usually filled. Some doctors, in particular, fall into a panic lest they be accused by their medical societies of the deadly sin of self-advertising, and they thereby hamper the promulgation of important medical news.

Most of the six books listed above are good examples of popular science writing today. It happens that the authors of five of them are English, but this is an accident of publication without significance. It is true that for many years British scientists as well as British popular writers on science and technology seemed to do better than their opposite numbers in America; but this gap is being closed.

J. Gordon Cook is a distinguished British chemist who has written for newspapers, magazines and motion pictures. Each of these small volumes contain all the facts that most laymen would want to know about the subject involved, clearly set forth.

The Story of Our Earth, in spite of its title, contains only a few pages about the probable origin of this planet and the facts of geology and geography; the rest of the book is a simple outline of what is known about the development of organic life.

Science and Human Life, while also written in popular style, is really a long essay on the relations, if any, among body, mind and spirit, with an incidental summary of what is known about the electrical processes of the brain.

Science Looks at Smoking is in a different category from the other books listed; instead of seeking to report all the facts impartially, it is a piece of propaganda in favor of the continued use of tobacco. It recites again all the arguments that are now drearily familiar: no direct causal relationship between smoking and lung cancer, or between smoking and coronary disease, has been proved; there are other causes for these ailments, and so on. While this book was on the press, several additional authorities, in the United States and Great Britain, had come out in confirmation of the idea that some definite relation exists between smoking and these diseases, including Dr. John R. Heller, director of the Cancer Institute of the US Public Health Service, who says that the chance is one in ten that a heavy smoker past forty-five years of age will die of cancer.

MOVIES

THE RUBY YACHT OF PARAMOUNT

THE MOVING FIGURE writhes, and having writh,
Moves on; and here* comes Michael Rennie with
A dagger; surely he's the villain, Love,
For this plain reason, viz:—he always is.

Upon the screen the loveliest and the Best
Of Hollywood were gathered, so to test,
If Omar, poet of the Middle East,
Could fill the Drive-Ins of the Middle West.

While in and out, above, about, below,
The ladies of the Harem come and go,
In Vista-Vized voluptuosity,
They do not talk of Michaelangelo.

Now wily Omar lightly scales the wall,
To visit his Beloved's boudoir all
Alone; meanwhile princes wrestle for the throne
Kitsch as kitsch can; the good guy wins the brawl.

Ah Love, could you and I with Fate conspire,
To grasp the wretch who writes these things for hire,
Would we not shatter him to bits—and then
Consign his sorry scribbles to the fire?

At Naishapur, Nevada, Notre Dame,
The dialogue, substantially the same,
Emerges from burnooses, Stetsons, cowls,
Sans intellect, sans humor and—sans shame!

A Poet, foolish underneath a Bough,
While Debra Paget softly strokes his brow,
And murmurs, "Omar how you *do* go on!"
Oh Paramount . . . is not enow *enow?*

DONALD MALCOLM and JANET WINN

* *The Life and Loves of Omar Khayyam* (Paramount)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAPERBACK BOOKS

A Howl of Protest in San Francisco

DURING the past few months, the godfather of the San Francisco Renaissance, Kenneth Rexroth, has been swashbuckling his way through the paperback periodicals with a series of lively, if intellectually irresponsible, essays on the young poets, novelists, and painters of what he calls the "Beat Generation" (as distinguished from its more respectable contemporaries, the "Silent Generation"). One of these essays can be found in *New World Writing 11* which, as it happens, also features a selection of poems by members of the "Silent Generation"—precisely the kind of thing that the San Francisco group considers academic and "square." *New Directions 16* contains both a piece by Rexroth and a few samples of San Francisco literature, while *Evergreen Review 2,* going the whole hog, gives over its entire contents to the Renaissance.

It turns out on close inspection that the San Francisco group is composed of two or three good writers, a half dozen mediocre talents, and several worthless fellow-travellers. What they all have in common is the conviction that any form of rebellion against American culture (which for them includes everything from suburbia and supermarkets to highbrow literary magazines like *Partisan Review*) is admirable, and they seem to regard homosexuality, jazz, dope-addiction, and vagrancy as outstanding examples of such rebellion. Most of them like using bop-language, and though they are all highly sophisticated, they fancy themselves to be in close touch with the primitive and the rugged. They talk endlessly about love; they are fond of Christian imagery, and especially fond of appealing to St. Francis in support of some of their ideas.

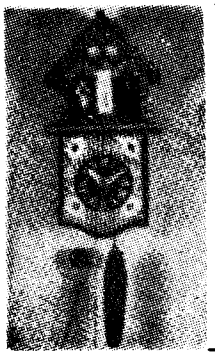
Occasionally, the rebelliousness in these poems and stories can descend to the level of puerile snivelling and self-righteous braggadocio. The worst offender is Michael Rumaker, author of a long story called "The Desert" in which the coldness, superficiality, and stupidity of two ladies driving a snow-white Jaguar convertible is mechanically contrasted with the vitality and spontaneity of a small gang of bums lolling in the California desert. Just in case you don't get the point, Mr. Rumaker sledgehammers it home with a mysterious young man named William who has "thrown away his culture" to go tramping through the country in search of love and truth. William tells those horrid ladies off, all right, showing up the falsity behind their pious liberal sentiments and generally establishing himself as a supremely sensitive and courageous fellow—a veritable religious hero, in fact—and when the ladies depart from the scene, he joins the bums in a naked romp in the dirt.

What appears to be operating in Rumaker's story is the fantastic notion that homosexuality can be dressed up in a religious image or two and then offered without further ado as an adequate protest against the vulgarity and cruelty of American life. Allen Ginsberg's remarkable poem, "Howl" (currently banned in San Francisco) is not above throwing out the same suggestion, but Ginsberg gets away with it because he is frankly justifying himself in the poem, because his assault on America is a personal cry that rings true, because his hysteria is tempered with humor, and because the dope-addicts, perverts, and maniacs he celebrates are not finally glamorized. There are also two other good poets represented in the *Evergreen Review* — Robert Duncan, who is responsible for some of the loveliest lyric verse being written today, and the Dominican Brother Antoninus (William Everson), who can sound like Hopkins while remaining very much himself.

Judging from the *Evergreen Review,* then, I would say that the avant-garde "renaissance" in San Francisco is a product of Rexroth's publicistic impulses. No new territory is being staked out by these writers—Ginsberg's return to Whitman is a shift in fashion, not the mark of a revolutionary sensibility, and Duncan's lyric talent can easily be matched by the "square" Silent-Generation man, Louis Simpson. The fact is that it takes more than a feeling of "disengagement" from the contemporary world to provide the materials for a genuine avant-garde revolt.

THOUGH several publishers seem to be having difficulty in keeping the standard of their lists high, exciting titles continue to appear in paperback with almost disconcerting regularity. At some cost to readability, Anchor recently issued a single-volume edition of *Mimesis,* Eric Auerbach's monumental study of the representation of reality in Western literature. And several other important works of literary criticism are in the offing: Philip Rahv's *Image and Idea* (New Directions), Richard Chase's *The American Novel and Its Tradition* (Anchor Original), and the first half of Arnold Hauser's *Social History of* Art (Vintage). Beacon's fall publications include E. R. Dodds' *The Greeks and the Irrational,* and a very valuable book that has been almost completely unavailable for many years—*Outlines of the History of Dogma,* by the great 19th-century German scholar Adolf Harnack. Another of Harnack's works, *What Is Christianity?,* is available in the Harper Torchbook series. And in a different key altogether, there is Harold Clurman's fascinating autobiography, *The Fervent Years* (Hill and Wang Dramabooks), which recounts the history and ideology of the Group Theatre.

NORMAN PODHORETZ



BLACK FOREST WEATHER CLOCK

Predicts weather—Tells Time & Temp.

Now Only $3.95 postpaid duty-free

Shipped to you from Europe. Gay, colorful clock made by world famous experts of Germany. Fair weather brings out little Miss, stormy the gent with umbrella. Tells temp. too. Accurate weight & pendulum clock. Colorfully painted. Money back guarantee. No COD's. Postman collects 15c fee.

ED LURIE, Dept. NR, 67 Warren St., Roxbury, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART

Art in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, if not the last, is surely one of the later places in the world one would expect to find a first class show of American painting. Youngstown contains about 150,000 souls and along its main drag easily gives the impression it has one fifth that many. The town is an iron and steel center and looks it. The location, halfway between Pittsburgh and Cleveland, would seem to remove the last possibility of big time art in Youngstown, for both cities carry on excellent exhibition programs and offhand it would seem that the Youngstowners interested in art could get to one or the other easily enough.

Yet every summer the Butler Institute there pulls off a major show of American painting and one of the most useful of all for the citizen who wants to keep score on his country's art. The usefulness stems from the manner of selection and I suspect the manner of selection stems from a limited budget. Whereas most museums, setting out to mount a contemporary show, send staff members roaming through the land, an easier method has been found by Joe Butler, who holds what must be the only hereditary directorship in American art.

His system is an instructive one for the small city institution that wants to bring the big time to the home town. When his show began, 20 years ago, it was a regional affair and through the years, like most regionals, it must have got pretty repetitive. Six years ago, Butler broadened the base. The show is now national and open. Anyone can submit. A pair of national-level judges —this year the Whitney's Lloyd Goodrich and painter William Thon—insures a certain quality in what is exhibited and adds the dimension of the thinking of a couple of top professionals.

What really distinguishes the show, however, is the 50 invited paintings that form the core of the 300 on view. These are prizewinners from national and regional shows of the preceding year. What the Butler Annual manages to be —within obvious limitations—is a resumé of the art year.

The resumé bears out what has been observed in a number of national shows during the last year, most notably in the University of Illinois biennial, that there is a growing number of American artists who have either gone beyond paint for paint's sake, or were never seriously tempted by it, or have pressed some of its undoubted discoveries into service for the old idea of art as something intelligible.

The top awards give a fair indication of the new directions. Jules Kirschenbaum's "The Playground" took first prize. On first view the painting seems to be a kind of watered down surrealism, but actually it's the combination of dream like action figures in rigidly symmetrical architectural perspective that strangely appears in Botticelli's last decade. It is an ingenious attempt and it is carried through on a high level of technical skill, yet the picture fails, perhaps because our relationship to these anonymous pelota players cannot really approach Botticelli's to Zenobius and Lucretia.

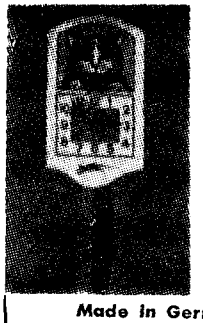
Thomas Yerxa's second prize winner, "City Child," tenderly deals with a small Negro child brooding on a fire escape landing. Light and line, everything about the picture, in fact, is expertly handled to enhance the comment being made. The plane of the boy himself, for example, is the only one parallel to the picture-plane, and he sits, the single shadow in a patch of light which is the single light in the blue, gloomy world.

An honorable mention, "Ground-Air Control," by Donald Weismann, manages an inescapable representation of its subject without a single recognizable detail. Sticks and planes, put together as if by a boy at play, spell out the ground structures, complete with tower, and the weightless though awkward aircraft moving through the sky.

The furthest anyone in the Butler show has gone away from the happy accident approach to painting is Aaron Bohrod's "Bird and Gauntlet," a small, precise painting of a bird's nest, with eggs and feathers, and a mailed fist. There are no accidents in Bohrod's work. Everything is done on purpose and it takes a good deal more than the purpose to do it. Every inch of the painting is in sharp focus and the handling of textures—worn metal against wisps of straw, weatherbeaten boards against velvet—is breathtaking. Bohrod is one of the few painters who shows total competence in his craft. While that may have been a pain in the neck when it was all professionals were offering (a situation, by the way, that has never obtained in this country), it's mighty refreshing today.

FROM the point of view of the progress of a painter, the most interesting painting in the Butler is Colleen Browning's "Bathers." She's been a girl to watch for some time and never more so than now that she is passing beyond what attracted attention in the first place. Several years ago Browning devised a kind of trick of juxtaposing fluidly drawn Harlem children against a colorful and somewhat stylized urban geometry. The trick almost always worked like a charm and sometimes it worked brilliantly, but trick it remained and its very success posed a threat to Browning's own development. The "Bathers" completely repudiates the trick. The geometry and the bright coloring are gone. Three female beach figures are arranged against sand, sea and sky all in gray, silver, blue. The loneliness that has occupied the artist is still there, but it is whispered, no longer shouted, and that's the way loneliness speaks.

FRANK GETLEIN



KITTEN CLOCK

$3.95

Postpaid—Duty Free

SHIPPED DIRECT TO YOU FROM FREE EUROPE

Made in German Black Forest

Everyone, especially the children love this adorable, colorfully painted Kitten Clock for Kitchen or Nursery. Excellent timekeeper. Kitten's eyes move in time with pendulum. Shipped direct from Germany's Black Forest. Order as gifts, too. (Not more than one addressed to same person.) Send only $3.95 each. No COD's. Postman collects 15c foreign packet fee which can't be prepaid. Satisfaction guaranteed. Order Today.

ED LURIE, Dept. NR

67 Warren St., Roxbury, Massachusetts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TELEVISION

As the Life Goes Out of the Show

EARLIER this year, when Robert Montgomery and his theater left the air for good, many people woke up to the frightening fact that the live television drama which had been wasting away during the past two years, suddenly had given up the ghost. Jack Gould, writing in the *New York Times,* considered that Montgomery's demise was a symbol of the decline of television as a whole: "where once his plays had something, more recently they hadn't." John Crosby said it was "depressing in an industry where all the great shows have been live, and most of the junk has been on film." Most depressed of all was Montgomery. "Fifty-two productions a year is hard manual labor," he is quoted as saying. "But I have no feeling of relief that it is over. I feel kind of empty about the whole situation."

Those of us who had seen it coming felt even emptier. What was disturbing was not Montgomery's final fadeout, for if nothing else, he could find gainful employment at the White House. But along with his show, down went a number of serious hour-long drama presentations usually broadcast from New York. The Alcoa-Goodyear series, which occasionally had made stimulating viewing on Sunday evenings, was to be replaced for the coming season by a new filmed half-hour anthology, much of which will be suspense-type melodrama. Out went the US Steel Hour. ABC, which once carried the Elgin Hour and Kraft Theatre, and more recently, the US Steel-Theatre Guild series, will have no live drama out of New York this season. NBC, which aired five live dramatic programs a week last year, continues with only one full-hour long anthology show (Kraft), an afternoon series (Matinee) and a live semi-documentary (Armstrong Circle theatre).

A TV writer, therefore, with something interesting to say now finds himself with only one uncompromising showcase in New York (CBS-Studio One), and one in Hollywood (Playhouse 90). And there are rumors in the trade that Studio One may be off by December. Kraft, still around after ten years, also is available. But writers who prefer that their scripts be kept reasonably intact, have been shunning the program because of its long-standing policy of constant rewrite by everyone.

New York's TV playwrights began to feel the cold draft more than a year ago, when demand shifted to scripts for half-hour filmed melodrama and mystery series, a good portion of which were being produced or were scheduled for production in Hollywood. Writers of my acquaintance gradually began finding themselves, last season, faced with a new but decided repugnance on the part of many live drama producers for "quiet, adult drama."

THERE were exceptions. When you bring up the subject of last year's mediocre viewing, someone always mentions *A Man Is Ten Feet Tall*—the Robert Alan Aurthur play which became the movie *Edge of the City.*

Not so widely mentioned was this year's Studio One production of *A Walk Downhill,* the Ernie Kinoy play which dealt with the universal problem of a man facing what he is and what he cannot escape. A Jewish soldier, who has been raised without any identification with Judaism is captured by the Germans. He must decide whether he will join his admittedly Jewish buddies who have been placed in an isolated barrack in the American POW camp to face an uncertain future—or whether he will renounce the heritage about which he feels he knows very little. But this effort was not widely reviewed.

To Kraft's credit, it should be noted that it came up with the only offering last season (a Galsworthy adaptation) where the leading player not only didn't exit with a smile before the final cheese recipe but took his own life as the solution to his problems. The play not only broke the unwritten code of happiness, but it shattered as well, the written clause in the television code of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters entitled: Acceptability of Program Material. This reads, "Suicide as an acceptable solution for human problems is prohibited."

Most of the New York television writing fraternity have been aware in a general way of what has been going on, but it wasn't until last April that their union, Writers Guild of America, East, put it down on paper. Around that time, one of its committees turned in a report on the state of live television drama that found "an overall tendency away from the free-wheeling and semi-experimental form of television—that represented by the work of the traditional comedian, who may or may not exist on the air this fall (he won't) and the producers of live drama shows. . . . "

Replies to a questionnaire which the union distributed among its members confirmed that "melodrama and suspense scripts are selling the most readily . . . a lot of our writers already consider the Coast as a principal market." It also reported the opinion of TV writers that civil rights, segregation, politics and religion were frowned upon as subjects. Some said they had trouble with "divorce, crime wherein the criminal goes unpunished, insanity, delinquency, children in danger, stories that are anti-Army, stories that are anti-Big Business." One writer couldn't sell a story about trade unions; others discovered that sex was considered controversial. One remarked: "Everything I think up is controversial."

IF one searches for reasons for the degrading of live television drama, the persons most likely to come up with plausible answers are the producers, story-editors and others involved with putting on a live drama show each week. At Studio One, Gordon Duff, one of its producers, feels that ratings have become all-important. "After all," he said to me, "what other standards do we have?" Yet Studio One makes no attempt to appeal to everyone. And if the test is the weekly Trendex or ARB poll, as Duff says (and most of

Notes on Contributors

PAUL WILLEN has travelled extensively in Tito's Yugoslavia. SAREL EIMERL is a free-lance writer. NATALIE DAVIS SPINGARN is a writer on the Social Sciences. BRUCE BLIVEN is completing research for a new book. MARTIN LURAY is a newsman for a major TV network.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the industry swears by them, or others) then Studio One, which is not one of the highest rated shows, by Madison Avenue's "common denominator" and "complete audience acceptance" slide-rules should not be on the air. But it is —and gets a large mail-pull.

Well, one way or another, the writers will continue to write. Those with the gnawing need to express themselves about man's fate will try to hit the one or two outlets that are still available. The others will turn to the easy life of the half-hour film series and the TV version of the B movie. Producers will continue to produce. Certain segments of Madison Avenue will continue to dredge a world that has little relation to the one we live in for material to fill those ever-demanding TV hours. From them will come the hodge-podge of gum-shoes, gun-slingers, song-birds and cradle-stories with which we will be deluged this season. A few in the industry will continue to experiment, but they may not have much success, for never before has mediocrity been so in command.

Variety says it's the "temper of the times" and has its roots on Pennsylvania Avenue: "A sort of Madison Avenue reaffirmation of the Eisenhower credo not to tamper with anything that might border on the controversial." True as this may be, it is only part of the explanation. Another is purely economic. Sponsors, however enlightened, see no reason to go out on a limb with controversial or experimental television when the tried and true means of bringing in a return on a fantastically-huge per show investment is at hand.

But fortunately for you and me, the phrase "lowest common denominator" so cherished by Madison Avenue as a rationalization for TV material which makes no pretensions of appealing to the intelligence, also may apply to mass boredom. The mass yawn engendered by a season filled with cowpokes may wake Madison Avenue up to the fact that quite a few of us would like to see some plays by writers with something to say about human values and relationships. If and when that mass yawn begins to show on the Trendex charts, we may perhaps get some life back on the screen.

MARTIN LURAY

Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

and Mr. Belafonte would be hard to find.

HAROLD EDWARD GROVE

New York, N. Y.

. . . Mr. Roth replies

SIRS:

MR. GROVE, in his genial communication, suggests that if you put two beautiful people on a movie screen it follows that just about anybody who sees them will desire them. Though this sort of psycho-biological cliché is fine for musical comedy, it is hardly adequate in a movie like *Island in the Sun,* where one hopes to find that the choice of subject leads into a more subtle investigation of the complexities of being human. Certainly the character played by Joan Fontaine is, as Mr. Grove puts it, "physically attracted" to the Negro labor leader, Belafonte, but does Mr. Grove mean to suggest that the lessons of Miss Fontaine's life, as a white aristocrat, melt in the heat of her passion? In a community strained with racial tension isn't the sexual encounter between Negro and white apt to be altered? Or in the presence of "physically beautiful creatures" are men and women stripped of their pasts, prejudices, and preferences? And if indeed there is this kind of brotherhood of sexuality, what happens when those who believe in the brotherhood meet those in the community who do not?

It is hardly enough to explain the facts of living with one fact of life.

PHILIP ROTH

Moorestown, New Jersey

► *Politicians as Critics*

SIRS:

VERY nice to have Adlai Stevenson review a book (NR, August 12). How about equal space for Mr. Eisenhower to review one of the books he has read recently?

W. GOLDWATER

New York, N. Y.

► *Stevenson for President*

SIRS:

YOUR good review by John L. Steele (Sept. 2) of Stevenson's books provokes me to ask: If Proxmire wins after ten years and three defeats, why not Adlai? Let us break political precedent in our worship of the "bitch goddess success." Give the people of the US a chance to use their native hindsight after eight years and to recover from their "Leave-it-to-Poppa Ike complex," and from the illusion, cultivated by Madison Avenue hucksters, that a successful general can make a good President.

MARK STARR

New York, N. Y.

CUCKOO CLOCK

from GERMAN BLACK FOREST

Now only $3.95

postpaid . . . duty-free

Shipped Direct To You from EUROPE

This low price possible only through our unique direct import plan. Genuine German CUCKOO CLOCK with weight and pendulum movement. Excellent timekeeper. Cuckoos cheerily every quarter hour in clear pleasing voice. HAND CARVED in traditional design by famous Black Forest wood carvers. Antique walnut finish. Perfect for den, bedroom, alcove, child's room or kitchen. Shipped direct from Free Europe in export packing with strange foreign stamps. Order as gifts, too, each shipped direct. (Not more than one addressed to the same person.) Send only $3.95 for each. No C.O.D.'s. Postman collects 15c foreign package charge which can't be prepaid. Satisfaction-or-money-back guarantee.

ED LURIE, Dept. NR

Warren St., Roxbury, Massachusetts

SUPREME INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION

by Ralph Aston

presents a system for improving society by true monastic discipline. $2.

File T, Box 1043, Birmingham 1, Alabama

MEMO TO WRITERS:

The priceless ingredients in every book is the integrity of the publisher. If we are convinced of the quality and sales potential of your manuscript, we will offer you a fair co-operative contract. Publication will be handled by men of vision and experience.

Submit your manuscript to:

THE AMERICAN PRESS

Attn: Mr. Ullmont, 489 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS—ALL SUBJECTS. Catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 1—NR, Wantagh, New York.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Unconditional money-back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP: Details free. Research Association, Box 610-NR, Omaha, Nebraska.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Teachers

RECENTLY, WE ASKED the distinguished correspondent, Joseph C. Harsch, why he was again reading *The New Republic*. "Because," he said, "it is breaking new ground." Perhaps that is also why this Journal of Opinion is more and more used for supplementary reading in colleges and schools. Since 1914, the editors of *The New Republic* and its contributors—John Dewey, John Maynard Keynes, Charles A. Beard, Walter Lippmann (or today, Louis J. Halle, Arthur Bestor, Hans J. Morgenthau, Robert Graves, Malcolm Cowley)—have been among those who have helped throw open the academic gates to intelligent discussion of the urgent controversies of our age. The *NR* is not a "news" magazine, though its comment is topical. It does more than report. It encourages the reader to explore further, to ask what events *mean*, and to use what we know to advance the high purposes of our democratic society. And because it does that, educators such as Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., say that *The New Republic* is the *one* magazine they "could not do without."

☆

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we invite you to consider using *The New Republic* in your classroom. As in years past, we offer you the opportunity of ordering this magazine at a special classroom rate for bulk orders of 10 or more. Each student's copy costs only 10 cents weekly (less than one-half the regular newsstand price) if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. *Free desk copies are included for each instructor.* Orders may be placed for any number of weeks, even for one week only, if desired, or for the entire semester. Copies are mailed from Washington, D. C., on Tuesdays, two days before *The New Republic* appears on any newsstand, so that your students are assured of receiving the magazine while the news and book reviews are fresh and exciting.

☆

Advance payment is not necessary. You need only notify us how many copies and how many issues you wish. Your bill will be sent later. Mail your order without delay to:

CLASSROOM DEPARTMENT, THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED